

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE STOCKHOLM

School of Human Rights and Democracy

MASTER PROJECT

Spring term, 2023

Human Rights Violations in the Name of Football

A Qualitative Content Analysis on the Human Rights
Violations against Migrant Workers during the preparation
and delivery of the FIFA World Cup 2022 in Qatar

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Acknowledgments

First, I want to express my gratitude to my family and friends, especially Anna. All your support and encouragement throughout my studies have been incredible. Without you, this would not be possible.

And to all of you who have helped with this thesis, thank you!

Abstract

The 2022 FIFA World Cup for men's football has received massive criticism since it was announced in December 2010 that Qatar would host it. With a significant history of human rights violations, many were shocked that Qatar was elected. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and media reported on the ongoing abuses in the country and warned about the consequences of Qatar hosting the World Cup. Therefore, this thesis will examine these consequences and how preparations for the World Cup affect human rights in Qatar – specifically migrant workers' rights. The focus will be on Qatar, companies working with the World Cup, and Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), addressing and analyzing their responsibilities and obligations. The thesis is a descriptive analysis discussing how migrant workers' rights were violated and neglected. It is also a normative analysis that will analyze what should and could have been done to prevent it. Both Qatar's legal system and the regulation of international standards for human rights and business will be analyzed in the text. This thesis will shed light on the football world and its relation to human rights, as well as who bears the primary responsibility to ensure human rights in the preparation and execution of the World Cup. It will discuss how football and human rights affect each other, aiming to show that football organizations influence societies and social structures. Football is not only a sport but a tool that can either improve or worsen people's availability to human rights. This thesis is based on two different theories: A Marxist perspective on conflict theory and Corporate Social responsibility theory. To answer the research questions through these theories, this thesis has used a qualitative data analysis method to analyze different reports and documents from NGOs, Qatar, FIFA, and the United Nations. The thesis concludes with a summary highlighting FIFA as the prime duty bearer during the preparation and delivery of the World Cup, as well as acknowledging that Qatar, FIFA, and companies' lack of improvement and monitoring contributes to the enforcement of modern slavery/forced labor.

Keywords

Migrant workers; Football; World Cup; Human Rights; FIFA; Qatar; Forced Labor

Glossary

FIFA - Fédération Internationale de Football Association

MSE – Mega Sport Event

NGO - Non-governmental organization

WPS – Wage Protection System

NOC - No Objection Certificate

ILO - The International Labour Organization

QVC - Qatar Visa Center

The Supreme Committee – The Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy

MOL – The Ministry of Labor

LOC - The Qatar 2022 Local Organising Committee

Q22 - FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 Limited Liability Company LLC

MoU - Memorandums of Understanding

UN – United Nations

UPR – Universal Periodic Review

ICCPR - The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

UNGP - The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights

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1 Introduction

Football is the biggest sport in the world. It is estimated that football has around 3.5 billion fans spread all over the world.¹ The highlight for most football fans is the World Cup. The World Cup is arranged every fourth year, and a different country hosts each World Cup – Germany 2006, South Africa 2010, Brazil 2014, and Russia 2018. They all share the colorful festivities that last a few weeks during the summer. At least for football fans, it is a time when little else matters. Media is filled with results from the games, and strangers cheer together for their team. Growing up with football and the World Cup, it has never occurred that it could cause massive problems or violations. After all, it is just football.

However, that could not be further from the truth. It is not just about football, and perhaps it has never been. Football is not a hobby that stands on the sidelines while the rest of the world has problems. Football affects politics, and politics affects football. This has become more obvious in the last few years leading to the latest World Cup – Qatar 2022.²

The main focus, especially in media, has been on the problems in Qatar, especially the human rights violations that have been happening. People have questioned how a country without any football history can be responsible for the prime event in the football world. However, the criticism against Qatar when they were announced as the host candidate for the World Cup 2022 started long before they were elected.

To host the World Cup, the host country has to have at least eight massive arenas, which Qatar did not have. It had also been declared that playing football during the summer in Qatar would be dangerous to health because of the heat.³ In addition to that, Qatar has shown a significant

¹ Topend Sports Network. Top-10 List of the World's Most Popular Sports. *Topend Sports Network*. <https://www.topendsports.com/world/lists/popular-sport/fans.htm> (accessed 2023-03-23)

² Scarlett Cornelissen and Kamilla Swart. The 2010 Football World Cup as a Political Construct: The Challenge of Making Good on an African Promise. *The Sociological Review*. Vol. 54, no. 2, 2006: 108-123. p. 108

³ Olof Lundh. *Templet i öknen: så köpte Qatar världens största sport*. Första upplagan. Stockholm: Volante. 2022. p. 1

lack of respect for migrant workers' human rights.⁴ So, people were sure their opponent, the USA, would win. A country that had already held a very successful World Cup in 1994.⁵

But on 2 December 2010, Qatar was elected host country for the World Cup 2022. Would this be a total disaster, or would this be the beginning of a new era? No one knew. However, Qatar and the rest of the world were probably unprepared for the tumultuous debate and conflict that would arise in the forthcoming decade.

1.1 Research Problem

Since Qatar was elected host country in December 2010, they have been significantly criticized by media and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It has been highlighted that the living and working conditions for migrant workers go against international standards for human rights. Building the new infrastructure, including massive arenas and new hotels, has been under a strict timeline to get it done by the World Cup in November 2022. Thousands of migrant workers have died, and there has been a lack of explanations as to what caused their deaths. Many workers have been left without payment for months, and most have had to pay high illegal recruitment fees to come to Qatar.⁶

Migrant workers in Qatar continue to be exposed to labor abuse and exploitation. At the same time, Qatar and other actors responsible for creating the World Cup 2022 failed to fulfill their responsibilities and obligations. For decades, migrant workers have been abused and neglected their human rights despite warnings and demands from NGOs and the International Labor Organization (ILO).⁷ In a report from 2014, ILO mentioned Qatar and its Kafala system as a case of modern slavery and forced labor. The report argues that the State's lack of monitoring

⁴ Paul Michael Brannagan and Richard Giulianotti. Soft Power and Soft Disempowerment: Qatar, Global Sport and football's 2022 World Cup finals. *Leisure Studies*. Vol. 34, no. 6, 2014: 703-719. p. 715

⁵ U.S. Soccer. 1994 FIFA WORLD CUP (USA '94). *U.S. Soccer*. <https://www.ussoccer.com/history/us-soccer-as-host/1994-fifa-world-cup> (accessed 2023-03-23)

⁶ Human Rights Watch. *Human Rights Reporters' Guide for 2022 FIFA World Cup Qatar*. United States of America: 2022. p. 1

⁷ Amnesty International. *Reality check 2021: A year to the 2022 World Cup*. London: Peter Benenson House, 2021. p. 4

of the migrant workers' rights and working and living conditions allows employers and companies to use and exploit migrant workers, contributing to modern slavery.⁸

However, Qatar is not the first country criticized for human rights violations in conjunction with hosting Mega Sporting Event (MSE). In 1934, the World Cup was hosted by Mussolini's fascist Italy. In 1978, the World Cup was hosted by Argentina, only two years after a military coup installed a brutal dictatorship there.⁹ Hosting an MSE, such as the FIFA World Cup, often produces economic benefits and social pride for the host country.¹⁰ Therefore, many countries are interested in hosting an MSE because of the benefits and international recognition it can contribute to. But for human rights, organizing a World Cup, more often than not, comes with a prize. And when it comes to the World Cup in Qatar, advocacy groups have reported about forced labor and human trafficking, as well as insufficient working and living conditions for migrant workers. So, despite the broad claim that MSEs inspire humanity and can be a platform where human rights are prompted, for example, through the creation of jobs and processes of urban regeneration, it is clear that there is another side to the story.¹¹

Since Qatar does not seem to be the first country to violate human rights when hosting the World Cup, it is clear that human rights violations concerning the World Cup cannot solely be blamed on the host country. Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), football's international governing body, is the part that has had an influence on every World Cup ever hosted, and FIFA is, according to the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPR), committed to respecting human rights.

It is, therefore, relevant to analyze which actors bear the prime responsibility and why and how these different actors have affected the situation and migrant workers' human rights. In this situation, the Qatari government, FIFA, construction companies, and employers are different

⁸ Roger Plant. *Modern slavery: The concepts and their practical implications*. Geneva: International Labour Organization. 2014. p. 15

⁹ Kyle Fruh, Alfred Archer & Jake Wojtowicz. Sportswashing: Complicity and Corruption. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*. Vol. 17, nr 1, 2023: 101-118. p. 103

¹⁰ Mohammed Al Thani. Channelling Soft Power: The Qatar 2022 World Cup, Migrant Workers, and International Image. *The International Journal of The History of Sport*. Vol. 38, no. 17, 2021: 1729–1752. p. 1729.

¹¹ Al Thani. Channelling Soft Power: The Qatar 2022 World Cup, Migrant Workers, and International Image. p. 1730.

actors with power and influence. It is, therefore, also necessary to examine what measures have or have not been taken by these actors to understand their roles and responsibilities to ensure migrant workers' human rights. As well as to explore what should have been done and what can be done to improve and ensure the rights of migrant workers during the World Cup preparations and hosting, as well as how the situation has affected migrant workers and their human rights.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

1.2.1 Aim

This thesis aims to investigate the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar's effect on migrant workers and the consequences of hosting the World Cup in a country with a long history of human rights violations. The debate in media over the last ten years has mainly focused on the labor abuses against migrant workers in Qatar. Therefore, this thesis aims to analyze what has happened, how it has affected migrant workers as a majority against a small elite, and which human rights have been violated. NGOs have also argued that the actions done by the Qatari government, FIFA, and construction companies to improve the situation for migrant workers have not been enough. Earlier research shows that human rights violations have existed in previous World Cups. So, analyzing Qatar's responsibility would not be sufficient to understand the World Cup's effect on human rights. Therefore, another purpose of this thesis is to map central actors and conduct an analysis of the relevant legal framework for these actors concerning the World Cup, as well as analyze why these actors have responsibilities to protect migrant workers' human rights during the preparations and delivery of the World Cup 2022.

1.2.2 Research Questions

- How have preparing and delivering the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar affected migrant workers?
- Who has the prime responsibility to protect migrant workers' rights and why?

1.3 Earlier Research

People have studied sports events' effects on human rights for years. This thesis contribution focuses on Qatar as a specific case among all these sports events since it is the last held MSE. Previous research goes back to before WW2 when sports events were made to overshadow a state's violation. In their article *Sports events and human rights: Positive promotion or negative erosion*, Andrew Adams and Mark Piekarz argue that sport can be seen as a tool or mechanism

influencing human rights. Sports today can be a right in itself, but it could also be used to improve quality of life, promote peace, and improve human rights. They mention that international sports events direct the eyes of the world on a specific country, and human rights abuses made by regimes and organizations can be exposed. At the same time, it can allow less powerful groups to speak up. However, they recognize that this has not always been the case. Adams and Piekarz pointed out international sports events that have been the cause of human rights violations. For example, the Olympic Games in Beijing involved the Chinese government's detention of citizens. Piekarz and Adams conclude that sports events' impact on human rights will always be good and bad. However, seeing problems and violations during more significant events will be easier.

Another problem they mention is the contradictions made by sports organizations. On the one hand, sports organizations discuss values such as respect, tolerance, understanding, and equality. In the following situation, they argue that they have no power to establish change when truths about human rights violations are discovered.¹²

The most influential governing bodies within sports are highly commercialized units with a share in the global marketplace and generate significant income from broadcasting, hospitality, sponsorship, and licensing businesses. These bodies, such as the International Olympic Committee and the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), award countries international sports events. In their article *Sport mega-event governance and human rights: the 'Ruggie Principles,' responsibility and directions*, Seamus Byrne and Jan Andre Lee Ludvigsen question how much of the profits are used to target the human rights issues around international sports events and the State hosting the event. They point out that some claim these organizations have turned away from taking responsibility to monitor and act upon human rights violations in the host country. Their suggestion is not that sports governing bodies should hold governments legally responsible for their human rights violations. Instead, this is a reminder that from now on, sports governing bodies should consider human rights when deciding on new host countries for upcoming sports events. Byrne and Ludvigsen assert that integrating due diligence and human rights impact assessments offers more prevention methods where human rights can be prioritized. In their article, Ludvigsen and Byrne also discuss the *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations "Protect, Respect*

¹² Andrew Adams & Mark Piekarz. Sports events and human rights: positive promotion or negative erosion?. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*. Vol. 7, no. 3, 2015: 220-236.

and Remedy" Framework. They argue that applying this framework provides a tool where due diligence can become a mainstay in sports governing bodies' event operations. They claim this provides a pathway and a culture within these organizations that increasingly respects human rights.¹³

The ethical potential of sports is something Sigmund Loland discusses in his article *Major Sporting Events and Human Rights: Limitations and Opportunities*. He points out that sports participation requires mutual agreement in specific rules and norms. As a result of this, the sport involves respect and cooperation. Loland argues that these features are the foundation of sport's engagement for human rights and dignity. However, he also mentions that sport does not necessarily mean respect and fellowship. Sport invites it, but it can be exclusionary and cynical as well. He points out that sports can be used in problematic ways, especially when it comes to international sports events. Boycott is something Loland also discusses. He points out that boycotting a significant sports event can have negative consequences. It can affect an innocent part, for example, the civilian needing the job as a taxi driver during the event. Sanctions that are prompted by human rights violations are ethically charged and, therefore, often rest on weaker estimations. This is why Loland believes that boycotts in sports events based on human rights can lead to unintended consequences. But he also recognizes that it can be necessary, for example, when dialogue and diplomacy do not work.¹⁴

Dhiraj Abraham Philip points out in his article *Human Rights Concerns in the Context of Globalization in Sports* that the debate on whether targeting global sporting events as an effective platform to challenge human rights abuses has been going on since the Olympic Games in Germany in 1936. He argues that sporting events such as the Olympic Games in Seoul, South Korea, in 1988, highlight human rights issues. The event helped Korean citizens protest against the military dictatorship at the time. Philip mentions that host countries are seemingly sensitive to public examination in conjunction with being hosts of sports events. That is why these events are good opportunities to highlight human rights issues. However, Philip questions whether a simple relationship between sports and improving human rights can be made. He points out that there are no concrete answers since there have been occasions where

¹³ Seamus Byrne & Jan Andre Lee Ludvigsen. Sport mega-event governance and human rights: the 'Ruggie Principles,' responsibility and directions. *Leisure Studies*. Vol. 41, no. 5, 2022.

¹⁴ Sigmund Loland. Major sporting events and human rights: limitations and opportunities. *Department of Sport and Social Sciences*. Norwegian School of Sports Sciences. 2021.

the sport has triggered human rights violations. He also mentions that sports organizations, such as FIFA and the International Olympic Committee, claims to promote peace and unity through sport and international sports events. Therefore, they should have strict procedures that protect human rights and prohibit any form of human rights abuses. In his article, Philip also points out that international sports organizations can threaten to cancel the event if the host country does not try to improve its human rights issues. However, this is not quickly done since the massive commercial interests at stake affect the international sports organizations' possibility of carrying through such a decision. Ultimately, Philip concludes that international sports events have helped highlight different human rights issues and are essential to facilitate interaction between national and international organizations that advocate the same problems. However, the highlighting of various human rights concerns has, in the end, not led to much change for the people.¹⁵

A special connection between human rights violations and international sports events cannot be ignored. International sports organizations do not do enough to prevent these violations. As with many other human rights issues, it will not be prioritized as long as it does not benefit the organizations and States that earn money or benefit from these events. This research is, therefore, relevant to this thesis. It shows that the problems with Qatar and World Cup 2022 are not new. The discussions made in these researches highlight that this has to be investigated further. Since human rights violations seem to be a recurring thing in sports events, it is clear that something has to be done.

These earlier researches also help narrate the focus of this thesis. Since the violations keep happening even if the host country changes, it is clear that these problems are more significant than just one specific country's issues. The abovementioned articles point out both FIFA and the International Olympic Committee as massive parts of the situation. Since they are the ones who decide which country gets to host a specific event, they also have a responsibility to ensure that human rights are fulfilled in the making of the event. However, the previous research lacks explicit instructions on what FIFA and the International Olympic Committee must do. Therefore, this thesis originates from the arguments in the articles but goes further in-depth to investigate what role FIFA has and its responsibilities and obligations.

¹⁵ Dhiraj Abraham Philip. Human Rights Concerns in the Context of Globalization in Sports. *Indian Journal of Law and Legal Research*. Vol. 3, no. 2, 2021: 1166-1179.

Even if FIFA is a huge part of the problem and seems to be the recurring factor in human rights violations when hosting the World Cup, it is still necessary to look at previous research on Qatar. In 2011, Sevil Sönmez, Yorghos Apostopoulos, Diane Tran, and Shantiana Rentrope published *Human Rights and Health Disparities for Migrant Workers in the UAE*. The article discusses the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), comprising six member states: Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait, and Qatar. In 2011, 35 million people lived in these countries, of which 17 million were migrant workers. Of these countries, Qatar was one of those with the most migrant workers, and systematic violations of migrant workers' human rights were part of the norms in Qatar.¹⁶

Human rights violations against migrant workers in Qatar are not merely a consequence of creating and hosting the World Cup. It was already an existing problem in Qatar. So, while investigating Qatar during the period they prepared and hosted the World Cup, it will not be to see if the World Cup is the cause of the violations against migrant workers, but rather to examine if the World Cup has improved or worsened the conditions for migrant workers.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

1.4.1 Conflict Theory

Two different theories inspire this thesis, and the first is Conflict theory. Within conflict theory, there are different approaches, and this thesis will use a Marxist perspective on conflict theory. The Marxist perspective argues that society will always be in conflict due to never-ending resource competition. It implies that those possessing wealth would protect it, and those without would do anything to obtain these resources. This will lead to a constant struggle between the rich and the poor. In this aspect, governments often try to control the conflict by reallocating resources. They can do it with several mechanisms, such as minimum wages, social assistance, progressive taxes, and regulations. According to the Marxist perspective on conflict theory, if the government does not keep the gap between the rich and the poor from growing, it will lead to social unrest, and the people will revolt.¹⁷ It also claims that social order is preserved by

¹⁶ Sevil Sönmez, Yorghos Apostopoulos, Diane Tran, and Shantiana Rentrope. Human Rights and Health Disparities for Migrant Workers in the UAE. *Health and Human Rights*. Vol. 13, no. 2, 2011: 17-35. p. 17

¹⁷ CFI Team. Conflict Theory. *CFI Education Inc*. 2023.

<https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/economics/conflict-theory/> (accessed 2023-04-05)

power and domination instead of consensus and agreement. Therefore, by protecting their resources, the rich will try to maximize their power and wealth by suppressing the poor and powerless.¹⁸

Throughout history, the Marxist perspective on conflict theory has tried to explain different social phenomena – revolution, wars, discrimination, domestic violence, and poverty. The theory ascribes several fundamental developments, including democracy and civil rights. The central principles of conflict theory are the concept of the division of resources, conflicts between different socio-economic classes, and social inequality.¹⁹

The Marxist perspective argues that the rise of capitalism caused an imbalance between the rich and the poor. It considers society a pyramid, where a small group of wealthy people is at the top, dictating terms and conditions for the majority of society at the bottom. The elite will further set up laws, traditions, and other social structures to strengthen their power and prevent others from climbing the pyramid.

The Marxist approach believes capitalism is rooted in commodities and that labor counts as a commodity. It argued that laborers have little power in the economic system because they do not own factories and materials. Therefore, can the workers' worth be devalued over time, resulting in an imbalance between workers and business owners.²⁰

The Marxist perspective on conflict theory is relevant for this thesis because it highlights the imbalance and inequality between groups at different socio-economic levels in a state. Since this approach uses labor and the relationship between workers and employers as an example, the theory becomes extra relevant to analyze the abuses against migrant workers in Qatar. To understand the effect a small elite has over a vast majority's rights, how in the positive aspect of creating job opportunities, it can at the same time contribute to human rights violations. The theory shows the issues that can arise when powerful and wealthy people misuse their power to maintain their resources. As mentioned, hosting the World Cup often comes with economic benefits, and therefore, can the argument of the rich protecting their resources be relevant for

¹⁸ Otomar J Bartos & Wehr Paul Ernest. *Using conflict theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002. p. 39

¹⁹ Adam Hayes. Conflict Theory Definition, Founder, and Examples. *Investopedia*. 2022. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp> (accessed 2023-03-28)

²⁰ Ibid.

the discussion of low wages migrant workers build the World Cup. The Marxist perspective on conflict theory will help us understand how this imbalance affects society in the short and long term.

The structural arguments in this theory, elites deciding on laws and traditions, contribute to the thesis analysis of the situation in Qatar and its history of labor laws that abuse human rights. The Marxist explanation of workers' lack of power could also help understand how migrant workers are still used and have little control over their working conditions even though they are a massive majority in Qatar. It can also be applied to the discussion about FIFA. Since FIFA is a tiny group of men who decide where the World Cup will be held, they have power over a massive group of people's future, for example, job opportunities in a country.

The Marxist approach argues that society will protest and revolt against the elite when the gaps between rich and poor become too big. This part of the theory will not be the main focus of this thesis since it has not been the migrant workers who started the protests. Since migrant workers have little power and resources, they cannot protest or revolt against the employers and the government. Instead, it has been the outside world that has pointed out abuses against migrant workers in Qatar. It has been NGOs, governments, and media who have demanded changes and that Qatar take responsibility. Therefore, this thesis will use conflict theory to help understand the potential exploitation and slavery-like conditions in Qatar and how the government might use its power to exploit migrant workers to protect and increase their resources and power.

1.4.2 Corporate Social Responsibility Theory

The second theory used in this thesis is the Corporate Social Responsibility theory. Traditional views of corporation argue that it only exists to make profits. With this perspective, moral dilemmas arise when the struggle for profit proceeds, for example, when corporations have obligations but see themselves in a position where they can choose whether to meet those obligations – they probably know what to do but don't do it. This type of moral dilemma expands the business ethics field to include economic and civic responsibilities. This leads to many issues that must be confronted, independent of the companies' struggle for money. There are three theoretical approaches to these responsibilities: Corporate social responsibility (CSR), the triple bottom line, and stakeholder theory. CSR is the approach most relevant to this thesis and has two meanings. The first meaning is a general name for any corporation theory that includes the responsibility to make money and the responsibility to interact ethically with the

surrounding community. The second meaning is a specific conception of that responsibility to profit while having a role in broader questions of community welfare.²¹

As a specific theory of the way corporations interact with the surrounding community and world, CSR consists of four obligations. The first one is the economic responsibility to make money. The second one is the legal responsibility to follow the rules and regulations. This implies that the company accepts and follows the rules as a social good and to improve society rather than to avoid expensive penalties if rules are broken. A CSR vision is that the company will obey the rules and laws even if the fine is only one dollar. The third obligation is ethical responsibility, which includes doing what is right even when the law does not require it. This is the keystone of the theory, and it relies on a coherent corporate culture that sees the company as a citizen in society with all the responsibilities that citizenship entails. It might not benefit companies' struggle for profits but instead values everyone's welfare higher. The last obligation of the CSR approach is philanthropic responsibility. It means contributing to society's projects even when unrelated to the company. This presents a view that companies have some obligations to support the general welfare in ways determined by the surrounding community's needs.²²

The CSR theory is relevant for this thesis because it gives a view of companies' responsibilities that can be applied to both FIFA and companies in Qatar working with the World Cup. It also gives theoretical tools to analyze the relationships between various actors concerning the Qatar WC, both in regards to 1) citizen–state and 2) workers–employers. Since the theory focuses on several obligations, it provides tools to deepen the thesis' analysis and gives a more nuanced picture. The first obligation is not the main focus of this theory for this thesis. FIFA, Qatar, and Companies in Qatar will earn huge profits from hosting the World Cup and have, therefore, already fulfilled the first obligation of CSR. CSR's second obligation is to analyze international human rights law and what responsibilities and obligations it puts on FIFA during the World Cup. It also contributes to exploring the national legislation of Qatar and how it affects companies in Qatar working on the World Cup. In other words, the second of the four obligations of CSR help clarify FIFA's and companies' responsibilities according to different rules and laws.

²¹ James Brusseau. *The Business Ethics Workshop*. Pace University. 2012. p. 590

²² Ibid. p. 591

The third and fourth meanings contribute to the main discussion of the thesis – FIFA's, Qatar's, and companies' responsibilities outside of the laws. The ethical and moral view on their obligations as powerful and influential actors in society and the World Cup "community." All actors mentioned have a significant impact on the community's, more specifically migrant workers', welfare. Therefore, they should be interested in protecting and ensuring migrant workers' human rights. Their moral compass should affect their desire to do more than just the bare minimum highlighted in written rules and laws.

1.5 Method and Material

1.5.1 Method

This study has focused solely on the World Cup 2022 in Qatar, mainly because it is the latest held World Cup. To analyze the World Cup's impact on human rights today, it was necessary to investigate Qatar and not any of the previous host countries since it will prevent arguments from FIFA stating they have improved since previous World Cups.

The method used to conduct this case study is qualitative content analysis. A qualitative approach has been used because it is beneficial to gather in-depth information, opinions, and experiences of those directly involved or affected by the situation. Since qualitative data aims to find explanations of behavior, it is relevant for this thesis to investigate Qatar and FIFA's actions or lack thereof.²³ Unlike quantitative data, which focus on numbers and statistical analysis, qualitative data are primarily text-based. The sources can be original text, for example, archived material and transcribed interviews. It can also include written records of phenomena, such as descriptions of observed behavior and descriptions of films. In other words, the qualitative approach focuses more on words than numbers. However, qualitative research may also involve interpreting words.²⁴ The freedom of interpreting words and data might affect the result of the study. Two persons may analyze the same data differently and consequently get different results. Therefore, it is essential to be transparent and explain why and how you, as a researcher, have interpreted the data collected for the thesis.

²³ Lee McConnell & Rhona Smith, (red.). *Research Methods in Human Rights*. Oxford: Routledge. 2018. p. 70

²⁴ Ibid. p. 71

As well as focusing more on words rather than data and statistics, qualitative research is also more flexible than quantitative methods. The qualitative approach responds more quickly to changes in questions and offers more interaction between the subject and the researcher.²⁵ This is helpful since the thesis does not only analyze reports supporting migrant workers' point of view, it also investigates what authorities and those responsible have to say. So, when these perspectives are put together, you can get another answer to the issues than if you just look at one of the perspectives.

An issue with qualitative research may be that the researcher's sources can be biased. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize any potential bias and support more comprehensive claims with evidence.²⁶ For example, rather than just using reports from NGOs, this thesis will also, as mentioned, use reports from "the opponents" to investigate their points of view. In that way, the thesis gets a broader understanding of the situation and reduces the risk of being biased in either direction. In this case, the opponents are FIFA, the Qatari government, and companies in Qatar that work with the World Cup. The purpose of analyzing reports from FIFA is to give FIFA a chance to defend themselves and their work. It is also to understand better how they work to ensure that the World Cup follows international standards for human rights.

This thesis will also analyze documents from the United Nations and ILO to help understand if the arguments in the NGOs' reports are established on the international standards and regulations for human rights or opinions based on the NGO's moral principle. The reports and documents from the UN and ILO have been used to analyze the human rights violations in Qatar and what needs to be done to ensure the fulfillment of migrant workers' human rights. Just like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch's reports, it is challenging to distinguish problems related to the World Cup. However, they are still of value because they highlight the United Nations' view on the situation and can help analyze what needs to be done to fulfill international standards on human rights.

When applying the qualitative content analysis to all collected documents and reports, the primary purpose has been to find the words *World Cup 2022* or *World Cup in Qatar*. Information that does not mention the World Cup or cannot distinctly be connected with the World Cup in Qatar has not been analyzed because of lack of space and time and to narrow the

²⁵ Ibid. p. 72

²⁶ Ibid. p. 81

thesis. The reports and articles relevant to this study do not always specify which violations are related to the World Cup and which already exist. Since labor abuses existed in Qatar long before they were elected host country for the World Cup 2022, it can be challenging to understand how the tournament has affected the situation. Therefore, the main focus when reading the reports has been to try and find abuses that can be explicitly related to the delivery of the World Cup. For example, issues and abuses exist on construction sites building stadiums for the tournament or abuses against workers within the hospitality and service sector, including, for instance, hotel staff, taxi drivers, and security guards. Separating existing human rights violations from violations connected to the World Cup and FIFA helps examine FIFA's role and responsibilities. This could mean that some facts relevant to the thesis have been excluded since they could not be clearly distinguished if they were related to the World Cup 2022. Later, the text was analyzed to connect migrant workers' stories in NGOs' reports with human rights law and the legal standards for modern slavery/forced labor. By finding concrete examples of violations in the reports (illegal recruitment fees and unpaid wages), it could be matched with legal documents' description of criteria for what classifies as modern slavery. The reports and documents from the UN and ILO have been used to highlight the human rights violations in Qatar and to analyze what needs to be done to ensure the fulfillment of migrant workers' human rights. Just like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch's reports, it is challenging to distinguish problems related to the World Cup. However, they are still of value because they highlight the United Nations' view on the situation and can help analyze what needs to be done to fulfill international standards on human rights.

A descriptive analysis is often used during qualitative studies. A descriptive analysis aims to provide a contextual understanding of social behavior. In other words, values or behaviors that are being examined must be understood in context. By analyzing the violations against migrant workers in the context of the World Cup 2022, a descriptive analysis is conducted.²⁷ Normative ethics is substantive suggestions concerning how to live and how to act. The aim is not to decide whether or not these proposals are correct but rather to illustrate one way we can move towards more fundamental moral claims.²⁸ Therefore, analyzing what should and could be done by

²⁷ Alan Bryman. *Social research methods*. Fifth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2016. p. 395

²⁸ Shelly Kagan. *Normative ethics*. Colo: Westview Boulder. 1998. p. 2

the responsible actors in this thesis, an analysis from a normative perspective has also been conducted.

The ethical considerations in this study have been focused on the presentation of the research findings. When studying conflicts between divided populations and vulnerable groups, the researcher must avoid contributing to further escalation of hostility by viewing one side as bad and the other as good without being objective.²⁹ It might be difficult sometimes to be neutral when conducting human rights research. Still, as mentioned, using reports from different sides of the story helps paint a broader picture rather than just doing a study from migrant workers' points of view.

1.5.2 Material

To conduct the material for the study, the first step was to google “*World Cup in Qatar Human Rights violations.*” The next step was to read reports and articles from NGOs, which later referred to other reports on the same subject. In the end, five reports from Amnesty International and one from Human Rights Watch were selected for the thesis. These six reports were elected because they had the latest information on the situation. Reports from 2020-2022 included information from reports from 2010-2019 and new information. The reason for using these organizations is that they are some of the organizations, especially Amnesty International, that have done most reports and investigations on Qatar since 2010. On several occasions, they have been in Qatar and interviewed migrant workers on different World Cup projects. This and their many reports and articles give the thesis a broad understanding of the situation and potential issues. There are more reports from Amnesty International because they were read first, and most of Human Rights Watch’s reports had the same information.

When the reports from NGOs had been analyzed, reports from the UN and ILO were conducted. Four reports from the UN, and four reports and one article from ILO were analyzed. These were selected by searching for words from NGO reports, for example, modern slavery/forced labor, unpaid wages, and the World Cup 2022. The last part of the primary sources was one report and three articles from FIFA. These, too, were conducted by searching for the same words in the documents from FIFA.

²⁹ Bård A Andreassen, Hans-Otto Sano and Siobhañ McNerney-Lankford. *Research methods in human rights: a handbook*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. 2018. p. 205

The secondary sources in the thesis have been used to strengthen and deepen the information received from the primary sources. Two books by sports journalists, two documentaries, one daily newspaper article, and two reports from the International Trade Union Confederation and the National Committee to Combat Human Trafficking. They have all been conducted when googling World Cup 2022 or Human Rights violations in Qatar.

1.5.3 Delimitations

This thesis investigates how the delivery of the World Cup 2022 has affected migrant workers' rights and conditions. Therefore, several reports and articles have been excluded because they write about migrant workers generally in Qatar and not about workers explicitly related to the World Cup. Thus, the reports used have been selected because they mention either FIFA or the World Cup or, in some other way, show a connection to the World Cup, for example, construction companies building arenas. Text and reports from before 2010 are deemed irrelevant since actions done before 2010 cannot be related to nor a consequence of the delivery of the World Cup. This means that the study analyses reports from 2010-2022.

Another delimitation in this study is that it does not address domestic workers, often consisting of women. They constitute a large portion of the workforce in Qatar that has reportedly been exposed to labor abuses, exploitation, and other violations such as rape and violence. However, since they work in private homes, their situation cannot be directly connected to the World Cup, and it would be hard to argue how the tournament has affected their conditions.

Lastly, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (CMW) will not be discussed in this thesis since Qatar has not ratified the convention. Even though the United Nations' role and opinions will be addressed, they will be addressed through other committees and reports since Qatar has not ratified nor signed this convention.

2 Qatar

Qatar has a long history of violations against migrant workers. Qatar has had a legal framework called the *Kafala* system for decades, which has defined and regulated the relationship between employers and migrant workers. The system was established to supply cheap and abundant labor. Although it has been criticized, employers and companies benefiting from it have argued that it helps local businesses and development. The Kafala system, often called sponsorship, permits employers to employ foreign workers. The employer "sponsors" travel expenses and housing for the worker; in other words, employers decide where the workers live. This sponsorship implies a lot of power for employers. The Kafala system does not fall under the country's labor law and denies the workers protection and rights related to labor. For example, it prohibits migrant workers from joining a union or entering a labor dispute process. Workers' employment and residency visas can only be renewed or terminated by their sponsors, which gives private citizens, instead of the State, control over migrant workers' legal statuses in Qatar. This makes migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation. The employers often confiscate migrant workers' passports when entering Qatar, leaving the workers in further vulnerability. Workers also need their employers' permission to end employment, enter or exit Qatar, and when they can leave the workplace. Workers who do not comply with these demands risk imprisonment and deportation.³⁰

It is difficult to say precisely how many migrant workers have been involved in World Cup-related projects. Still, Amnesty International estimated that the number would run into hundreds of thousands. Outside of the 30,000 workers who have worked on projects monitored by the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (the Supreme Committee), hundreds of thousands have worked the last decade on other projects essential for hosting the World Cup—for example, Qatar Rail projects, Ashghal Expressway, and the expansion of the Hamad Airport. The building of 110,000 new hotel rooms also involves massive numbers of workers, and the number of individual workers is impossible to say since people have moved in and out of Qatar for the last 12 years. In addition to all the workers working on construction sites, tens of thousands work as security guards, taxi drivers, restaurant staff, hotel staff, cleaners, and many

³⁰ Kali Robinson. What Is the Kafala System. *Council on Foreign Relations*. 2022.

<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-kafala-system> (accessed 2023-03-23)

others working in the hospitality and service sector during the four weeks the World Cup is held.³¹

2.1 Legal Reforms since 2010

After Qatar was awarded the World Cup, its population went from 1.6 million in December 2010 to 2.6 million in December 2018. The massive increase in the population depends on the rise of migrant workers. Migrant workers, who make up 95% of Qatar's labor force, come from some of the poorest countries in the world. Some countries where workers come from are Nepal, Bangladesh, and the Philippines. These workers left their homes hoping to participate in Qatar's economic opportunities. Instead, they became victims of an exploitative labor system.³²

The labor abuses against migrant workers consist of the following:

- The Kafala system legally binds migrant workers to their employers and prohibits them from leaving the country and changing jobs;
- late and non-payment of wages;
- illegal and unethical recruitment practices;
- prohibition of worker's organizations;
- lack of justice when rights are violated; failures to fulfill Qatar's laws that protect workers' rights.³³

In March 2009, long before Qatar was elected, they constituted a new kafala law. The new one replaces the old one from 1963 but still prohibits migrant workers from leaving the country and changing jobs without their employers' permission. Amnesty International reported significant abuse across Qatar's construction sector in November 2013. Therefore, Amnesty demanded fundamental reform of Qatar's laws and practices, and in May 2014, Qatar officials announced that they would abolish the kafala system. They also promise legal reform. Later on, in August

³¹ Amnesty International. *Predictable and Preventable: Why FIFA and Qatar should remedy abuses behind the 2022 World Cup*. London: Peter Benenson House, 2022. p. 42

³² Amnesty International. *Reality check: The State of Migrant Workers' Rights with Four Years to go until the Qatar 2022 World Cup*. London: Peter Benenson House, 2019. p. 5

³³ Ibid.

2015, the Qatari government introduced the Wage Protecting System (WPS). It is an electronic system to monitor the payment of workers' wages.³⁴

Six years after Qatar was elected, with six years to go until the World Cup 2022, the government changed Qatar's kafala law again—with a new "employment" law. Since employment replaces kafala, the Qatari government claims this abolishes the kafala system. However, the new law still prohibits workers from leaving Qatar without their employers' permission.³⁵

2.1.1 International Labour Organization (ILO)

2.1.1.1 New legislation between 2014-2020

The ILO's involvement in the labor reforms in Qatar started in 2014 after international trade unions submitted a complaint to the ILO against Qatar. International trade unions claimed that Qatar did not comply with international labor standards. The complaint included the allegation that the kafala system enabled forced labor and exploitation and that the regulatory structure in Qatar was not enough to expose or resolve labor rights violations.³⁶ This complaint started a series of steps under the ILO supervisory mechanism.

After Qatar introduced the WPS, the ILO reported that over 1.3 million workers were registered in the system in 2019. The WPS has strengthened the protection of wages in Qatar and increased the government's ability to intervene in wage dispute issues and resolve problems more fairly and transparently.³⁷ Some of the main points in the WPS are:

- Workers are entitled to wages either monthly or fortnightly;
- Employers are obliged to transfer salaries to financial institutions in the State of Qatar within seven days of their due date
- Employers are not considered to have paid their workers unless done through the WPS.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 16

³⁵ Ibid. p. 17

³⁶ International Labour Organization. *Labour reforms in the State of Qatar*. Doha: ILO Project Office for the State of Qatar. 2022. p. 2

³⁷ International Labour Organization. *Assessment of The Wage Protection System in Qatar*. Doha: ILO Project Office for the State of Qatar. 2019. p. 2.

In November 2015, all companies governed by the Labor Law must be registered in the WPS.³⁸ However, in August 2022, 67,128 companies were registered in the WPS, and 913 of them still committed violations against the rules in the WPS.³⁹

After extensive documentation of labor abuse against migrant workers, the Qatari government signed an agreement in 2017 with the ILO. Through this agreement, Qatar committed to a three-year-long reform process. Qatar and the ILO would work together from 2018-2020 to align the Qatari laws and practices with international labor standards and rights related to work. The reforms were divided into five parts:

- improvement in the payment of wages;
- enhanced labor inspection and health and safety systems;
- replace the kafala system and improve labor recruitment procedures;
- increased prevention, protection, and prosecution against forced labor;
- promotion of workers' voices.⁴⁰

In conjunction with the agreement, the ILO opened an office in Doha in April 2018.⁴¹

Before the agreement, workers in Qatar required permission from their employers to change jobs. This was called a No Objection Certificate (NOC) and made workers extremely dependent on their employers and allowed employers to exploit workers. However, the new reforms in the agreement removed the requirement of a NOC and gave workers the right to change jobs without their employer's permission. Now, workers could change jobs at any time during their contract if they gave a notice of up to two months. This reform also removed exit permits, meaning migrant workers no longer needed an employer's permission to leave the country. However, in 2022, it was noticed that some workers still cannot leave Qatar without permission. Still, these new legislations and reforms, as a part of abolishing the kafala system, have facilitated a massive improvement in labor mobility. Between November 2020 and August 2022, over 348,450 applications to change jobs were approved. This has also strengthened

³⁸ Ibid. p. 8.

³⁹ International Labour Organization. *Progress report on the technical cooperation programme between the Government of Qatar and the ILO*. Doha: ILO Project Office for the State of Qatar. 2022. p. 9

⁴⁰ Amnesty International. *Reality check 2020: Countdown to the 2022 World Cup*. p. 8

⁴¹ International Labour Organization. *Labour reforms in the State of Qatar*. p. 3

migrant workers' position in Qatar and reduced the risk of forced labor. However, the ILO noticed that although the situation has improved for many workers, like with the exit permit, some workers still face problems changing jobs. Several employers have ignored the new legislation and instead retaliated against workers applying for a new job. The employers did it by threatening the workers with deportation and canceling residency permits. There are protections for workers in these situations, but they often amount to a bureaucratic and time-consuming process that is a deterrent for others who would otherwise be keen to change jobs.⁴²

The practice of low-wage migrant workers paying recruitment fees is spread over several countries and is a deeply rooted system. Although many countries have legislation prohibiting recruitment fees, it still exists and puts migrant workers in vulnerable situations. So, in 2019, the Qatari government established fourteen Qatar Visa Centers (QVCs) in six countries. The QVCs' role is visa processing and completing the mandatory medical testing. They also provide workers with employment contracts and sign legally binding agreements in Qatar. This reduces the chances of contract deception and substitution.⁴³

Another factor in reducing illegal recruitment fees was a Guidance Tool published by the Qatari government, the ILO, the Qatar Chamber of Commerce and Industry (QCCI), and the Institute for Human Rights and Business. The Guidance Tool aims to help hotels promote fair recruitment and employment specifically. It includes, for instance, a checklist, examples of good practices, and guidance for engagement with labor recruiters. Later, the guidance tool was adapted for other working sectors in Qatar, making it useful for companies other than hotels. In addition, the ILO held sessions raising awareness on conducting due diligence of recruitment activities in the private security and the hospitality sector.

The Ministry of Labor (MOL) has a recruitment department that wants to enforce new recruitment regulations and closed forty-five recruitment agencies in 2022 that did not comply with current legislation. The MOL and the ILO are also evaluating the existing system for monitoring and licensing private recruitment agencies. These efforts will strengthen the enforcement mechanisms' role in promoting fair recruitment of migrant workers. Lastly, the ILO office in Qatar organizes workshops together with public institutions to document

⁴² Ibid. p. 5

⁴³ Ibid. p. 21

examples of good practices, as well as explore ways to further embed fair working conditions and recruitment in companies' procurement procedures.⁴⁴

2.1.1.2 New legislation between 2021-2022

In March 2021, the Minimum Wage Law came into force in Qatar. This new legislation meant that the minimum wage had to be 1,000 Qatari Riyals (US\$275) per month, and in addition, employers must pay allowance for food and housing – 300 and 500 Qatari Riyals, respectively. The ILO announced that more than 400,000 workers would benefit directly from the minimum wage legislation. To ensure that the legislation would be followed, the Qatari government announced that they would improve further, strengthening the capacity of labor inspectors, detecting violations, and introducing faster penalties against breaches. A Minimum Wage Commission was also presented with the legislation, with the task of reviewing the impact and enforcement of the minimum wage and proposing adjustments.⁴⁵

Another legislation in 2021 was the expansion of the period when outdoor work is prohibited during summer. Before 2021, outdoor work was prohibited between 11:30 a.m. and 3 p.m. from 15 June until 31 August. The new ban extends between 10 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. from 1 June to 15 September, which is significantly more hours than all other countries in the region have. In addition to the prohibited working hours, all outdoor work must stop when conditions exceed 32.1° on the Wet Bulb Globe Temperature index. This index considers humidity, temperature, solar radiation, and wind factors. Lastly, companies must adopt heat-stress-specific risk assessments adapted to the different conditions and types of work in outdoor worksites.

The MOL and the ILO have collaborated to develop guidance and awareness of the new legislation. They also did a labor inspection campaign, which led to work stoppages in 338 worksites in 2021, respective 463 in 2022, for breaking the rules in the legislation on prohibited working hours. This could point to an improvement in monitoring compliance with the legislation. Data also pointed to a decrease in heat-related disorders for workers. Before introducing the legislation, 1,520 workers sought care for heat-related conditions in 2020. After

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 22

⁴⁵ International Labour Organization. Qatar's new minimum wage enters into force. *International Labour Organization*. 2021. https://www.ilo.org/beirut/countries/qatar/WCMS_775981/lang--en/index.htm (accessed 2023-03-16)

the introduction of the legislation, it has been reported that 620 received care at the Qatar Red Crescent Society Clinics in 2021 and only 351 in 2022.⁴⁶

2.2 The 2022 World Cup Institutional Set-up

Within Qatar, three actors are responsible for coordinating and managing all activities related to preparing and delivering the World Cup 2022. These actors are:

- The Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (Supreme Committee)
- The Qatar 2022 Local Organising Committee (LOC)
- FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 limited liability company LLC (Q22).

The LOC and the Supreme Committee are government entities. The Supreme Committee has been responsible for constructing the infrastructure and associated services since 2011. They are also responsible for coordinating and providing host country operations required for World Cup hosting. The Supreme Committee is also FIFA's partner in Qatar. Lastly, they are responsible for taking forward the legacy programs and implementing the Workers' Welfare Standards on all construction projects it oversees. The LOC was, up until 2019, responsible for World Cup preparedness, coordination with FIFA on World Cup-related matters, and handling all operational planning. Qatar and FIFA announced in 2019 the launch of Q22. Q22 is responsible for all projects related to the delivery of the World Cup and services for World Cup constituent groups (for example, training sites, guest management, event volunteers, and team services). Even if Q22 was created to focus on the delivery of the World Cup, the Supreme Committee is still primarily responsible for managing the development of the infrastructure and legacy programs.⁴⁷

Since Qatar was awarded the World Cup, the Supreme Committee has been responsible for the main actions to protect workers' rights.⁴⁸ The Supreme Committee monitors around 30,000 workers who specifically work on projects related to the World Cup. In 2014, the Supreme Committee introduced a new initiative to improve the protections for people working on World Cup-related projects. The initiative is called Workers' Welfare Standards and includes timely

⁴⁶ International Labour Organization. *Labour reforms in the State of Qatar*. p. 19

⁴⁷ Amnesty International. *Predictable and Preventable: Why FIFA and Qatar should remedy abuses behind the 2022 World Cup*. p. 14

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 6

payment of wages, complete prohibition on forced labor, and it covers issues including ethical recruitment. All these standards are included in contracts awarded to companies working on World Cup projects. The Workers' Welfare Standards also arranged new accommodations for migrant workers, which meet specific criteria for living conditions. During this period, the Supreme Committee also launched a program to compensate workers who had paid recruitment fees.⁴⁹

The closer it got to the delivery of the World Cup, the Supreme Committee began to expand the Workers' Welfare Standards to include contractors and suppliers in the hospitality and service sector. This meant that from 2019, twenty-six hotel operators were obligated to abide by these standards.⁵⁰

Since the entry of the Workers' Welfare Standards in 2014, the working and living conditions for migrant workers on World Cup projects have improved. However, one issue is that the Supreme Committee is only responsible for a fraction of migrant workers in Qatar. The Supreme Committee answers for around 2 % of the workers in the construction sector. Amnesty International, therefore, argues that there have been few meaningful efforts to prevent abuses against migrant workers on World Cup projects that do not fall under the protection of the Supreme Committee.⁵¹ Even those who do fall under the protection of the Supreme Committee continue to be exposed to abuse. In April 2022, Amnesty International reported that security guards in World Cup projects were working in conditions of forced labor. They worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week, and many went months or years without a day off. The Qatari law requires a day off weekly, but workers who took a day off were punished with arbitrary wage deductions.⁵² In addition, Amnesty International reports that the Workers' Welfare Standards have not been fully and universally implemented. All the reports by trade unions and NGOs addressing the issues in Qatar related to the World Cup have shed light on abuses that have gone undetected or unaddressed for years, even by the Supreme Committee. Therefore, it

⁴⁹ Amnesty International. *Reality check: The State of Migrant Workers' Rights with Four Years to go until the Qatar 2022 World Cup*. p. 7

⁵⁰ Amnesty International. *Reality check 2020: Countdown to the 2022 World Cup*. London: Peter Benenson House. 2020. p. 27

⁵¹ Amnesty International. *Predictable and Preventable: Why FIFA and Qatar should remedy abuses behind the 2022 World Cup*. p. 39

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 26

is not enough to look at the improvements. The Supreme Committee must ensure that past abuses are remediated fully.⁵³

Even though projects overseen by the Supreme Committee are subject to higher safety standards and strict processes, they have failed to investigate migrant workers' deaths on their projects. Thirty-three deaths have been recorded in all the Supreme Committee's Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Reports. Eighteen of these deaths did not reference an underlying cause of death. Instead, the cause of death has been "acute respiratory failure," "natural causes," or "cardiac arrest." These were men in their twenties or thirties, thus not people likely to be in the risk group of cardiac arrest.⁵⁴

2.3 United Nations

2.3.1 Universal Periodic Review

Within the United Nations (UN), there is a unique process called The Universal Periodic Review (UPR). The UPR involves reviews of the human rights records of all UN Member States, and it allows all States to show what they have done to improve the human rights situations in their countries. The UPR also shares examples of the best human rights practices around the globe, and no other mechanism like the UPR exists today. The UPR was created after the UN General Assembly established the Human Rights Council on 15 March 2006.

The UPR Working Group, consisting of forty-seven members of the Human Rights Council, conducts the reviews. The review is, for instance, based on documents from the State called the National Report and information and recommendations reported by human rights experts and groups known as the Special Procedures. In addition, the UPR examines to which extent States respect their human rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Charter, voluntary pledges and commitments made by the State, applicable international humanitarian law, and human rights treaties ratified by the State being reviewed.⁵⁵

⁵³ Ibid. p. 39

⁵⁴ Amnesty International. *Reality check: The State of Migrant Workers' Rights with Four Years to go until the Qatar 2022 World Cup*. p. 37

⁵⁵ United Nations Human Rights Council. Basic Facts about the UPR. *United Nations Human Rights Council*. 2023. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/upr/basic-facts> (accessed 2023-04-17)

2.3.1.1 Qatar's National Report 2019

Qatar's third and latest report to the UPR was published in March 2019. In the report, Qatar stated it has continuously reviewed its legislation to protect and promote the rights of migrant workers. It, for instance, mentions abolishing the kafala system, including abolishing restrictions on exiting Qatar and freely changing jobs. Qatar also points out its cooperation agreement with ILO, which ranged between 2018-2020. The agreement included improving the inspection system and working conditions, strengthening protection against forced labor, and improving the wage protection system.⁵⁶

Qatar highlights that it has also taken several measures to protect and promote the rights of migrant workers before recruitment. It has, for instance, signed thirty-eight bilateral agreements and fourteen Memorandums of Understanding (MoU) with countries most of the migrant workers come from to provide legal protection for migrant workers before recruitment. The MoU is an agreement between two or more parties outlined in a formal document where the parties show their willingness to move forward with a specific contract. Qatar also monitors and carries out inspections periodically on recruitment bureaus to ensure migrant workers are not exploited.⁵⁷

Regarding forced labor, Qatar points out that it has also signed an agreement with ILO during the 331st session of the ILO Governing Body, which has a special section focusing on combating forced labor. The section has a national action plan on forced labor, including measures to stop practices such as withholding passports and improving victims' access to justice. Furthermore, Qatar highlights that the Office of the Public Prosecutor has charged nineteen companies for abuses against migrant workers, for example, failure to grant mandatory rest, non-payment of overtime, and non-compliance with working hours restrictions. In 2017, Qatar also strengthened its enforcement of the law prohibiting the withholding of passports. According to Qatar, 361 cases were investigated, where fifty-three were referred to the Office of the Public Prosecutor. In forty-eight of these cases, the courts ordered the payment of fines.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Human Rights Council. *National report submitted in accordance with paragraph 15 (a) of the annex to Human Rights Council resolution 5/1 Qatar*. United Nations General Assembly: 2019. p. 16

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 17

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 19-20

2.3.1.2 Compilation on Qatar

In the Compilation on Qatar, the Special Rapporteur on human rights of migrant workers recommended Qatar ratify the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. They also suggested that Qatar establish a national preventative mechanism with the mandate to undertake unannounced visits to every place where migrant workers have been deprived of their liberty.⁵⁹

The Special Rapporteur noticed that the high proportion of migrant workers in Qatar creates unique challenges for the State. However, they point out that the Qatari government needs to improve its efforts to prevent human rights abuses against migrant workers. They commended the new reforms but said the new legislation is not sufficiently enforced. Lastly, it was recommended that Qatar end the sponsorship system and any related practices that enable abuse and exploitation against migrant workers. Qatar should also ensure that all measures to protect migrant workers are fully enforced and that violators are punished.⁶⁰

2.3.2 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The monitoring of the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is done by the Human Rights Committee. The Committee consists of eighteen independent experts. All States that have ratified the Covenant must submit regular reports to the Committee. The reports contain a description of how the State is implementing civil and political rights. The first report by the State must be submitted one year after it has been ratified and later whenever the Committee requests. When the Committee has received a statement, it examines it and later addresses its concerns and recommendations in a report called Concluding Observations.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Human Rights Council. *Compilation on Qatar*. United Nations General Assembly: 2019. p. 1

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 8

⁶¹ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. Introduction to the Committee. *United Nations*. 2023. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/treaty-bodies/ccpr/introduction-committee> (accessed 2023-04-17)

2.3.2.1 State Report 2019

On 21 May 2018, Qatar ratified the ICCPR, and on 21 August 2018, the Covenant entered into force.⁶² Qatar sent its first report in 2019, highlighting the work done to ensure the fulfillment of migrant workers' human rights. Qatar pointed out that this has included, for example, removing exit permits and MoUs providing legal protections for migrant workers before recruitment.⁶³ It also points out that the current legislation in Qatar prohibits all forms of slavery, including forced labor and slavery-like conditions.⁶⁴

2.3.2.2 Concluding Observations

Qatar's meeting with the Human Rights Committee was held on 28 February and 1 March 2022, where the Committee presented its concluding observations.⁶⁵ In the Concluding Observation, the Committee noted the measures adopted by Qatar to protect the safety of migrant workers. However, the Committee highlighted its concern about reports of deaths among migrant workers on construction sites in Qatar, including those related to the delivery of the World Cup 2022. It is also concerned about the lack of specific information regarding the number of migrant workers deceased, the investigations conducted, and the reparations for families affected.

The Committee welcomes the new reforms, such as abolishing the kafala system and protecting migrant workers' rights. Nevertheless, the Committee is concerned about the enforcement of the legislation. Despite Qatar's efforts to reduce the abuses against migrant workers, employers continue to abuse and exploit migrant workers. For example, passports are still confiscated, and wages are withheld, which the Committee noticed worsened during the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, the Committee that Qatar should intensify its efforts to ensure the fulfillment of legislation protecting migrant workers. It is also recommended that Qatar increase the conducting of regular labor inspections, investigate allegations of abuse, and punish abusive employers and companies. Lastly, the Committee recommends Qatar ensure the availability of

⁶² Human Rights Committee. *Initial report submitted by Qatar under article 40 of the Convention, due in 2019*. Geneva: 2019. p. 3

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 28

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 26

⁶⁵ Human Rights Committee. *Concluding observations on the initial report of Qatar*. Geneva: 2023. p.

effective legal remedies for migrant workers without them risking reprisal, detention, or deportation.⁶⁶

2.4 Modern Slavery

Forced labor is sometimes referred to as modern slavery. It is constantly taking new forms and affects millions of people every day. In 2017, the ILO estimated that almost 25 million people were exposed to forced labor worldwide.⁶⁷

In a report published in 2014 by the ILO, the concept of modern slavery is explained and discussed. It points out that it is clearly set out in international law that slavery, forced labor, and human trafficking are all severe crimes. Furthermore, the ILO Convention on forced labor from 1930 emphasizes that forced labor, including slavery and human trafficking, is a crime for which harsh punishments should be established and strictly applied.⁶⁸

The forced labor offenders could be individuals, companies, or the State. There are several cases where a State has pursued migration management policies, where migrant workers are tied to their employer, limiting their freedom. This contributes to an environment where coercion is likely to exist. It is mentioned that those most exposed to coercive exploitation are people in South Asia who are bonded to labor systems in more developed countries. This also includes forms of debt bondage. In addition, many recruiters and employers exploit loopholes in legal frameworks to exploit workers, such as depriving them of a fair salary. Abuses and forced labor are far more likely to flourish if the systems of monitoring and inspections of labor and recruiters are either weak or non-existent.⁶⁹

Not only a lack of monitoring could cause States to become forced labor offenders. Some countries have policies that allow forced labor and slavery-like conditions to flourish. These structural concerns are viewed as more recent forms of slavery rather than old problems. For example, the indentured labor systems used during the British colonial may not be as common today. Still, methods of migration management which restricts the freedom of migrant workers,

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 5

⁶⁷ National Committee to Combat Human Trafficking. *Our Fight Against Forced Labour and Trafficking for Labour Exploitation in Qatar*. 2021. p. 8

⁶⁸ Plant. *Modern slavery: The concepts and their practical implications*. p. 1

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 2

are more common in recent times. The Kafala system has been particularly highlighted in current discussions of forced labor.⁷⁰ Another serious indicator of forced labor is withholding identity documents.⁷¹

The notion of modern slavery has, on several occasions, been used to describe the working conditions for migrant workers in Qatar, especially concerning the preparations and delivery of the World Cup 2022. For example, in a report on the situation for migrant workers in Qatar, the International Trade Union Confederation uses "modern slavery" to describe the working conditions for migrant workers.⁷² In addition, the Council on Foreign Relations points out in an article that many experts argue that the lack of protection for migrant workers in Qatar facilitates modern slavery.⁷³

Many journalists have also claimed that the labor abuses in Qatar are equivalent to modern slavery. For example, a Swedish sports journalist, Olof Lundh, questioned Qatar's handling of migrant workers. As one of the wealthiest countries in the world, Lundh argued that they, if any, should have the resources to give migrant workers more tolerable working conditions. However, when he interviewed migrant workers on-site, he was met with stories of abused workers who had put their lives at risk on several occasions. They also spoke about the psychological stains and several workers committing suicide. Despite that, most of them consider themselves lucky to have gotten the chance to come and work in Qatar since it means better opportunities than in their home country. Lundh claims that this shows that Qatar exploits migrant workers' vulnerability, which is clear evidence of modern slavery.⁷⁴

A documentary from 2022 shows a couple of French journalists who went to Qatar to investigate the working conditions of migrant workers. Since it is illegal to film in areas where migrant workers live, the journalists went undercover as tourists and filmed and documented everything on their cell phones. They met a migrant worker who had lived and worked in Qatar

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 15

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 16

⁷² International Trade Union Confederation. *Frontlines Report 2015: Qatar: Profit and Loss*. Brussels: 2015. p. 3

⁷³ Robinson. *What Is the Kafala System*. <https://www.cfr.org/background/what-kafala-system> (accessed 2023-03-23)

⁷⁴ Lundh. *Templet i öknen: så köpte Qatar världens största sport*. p. 114

for the last five years. The worker explained that he risked imprisonment and deportation if authorities found out he spoke to journalists. Still, he was willing to take that risk to show the truth of migrant workers living and working conditions in Qatar. For instance, he explained that thousands of migrant workers buy their food in a market for supermarket food waste since their salaries are insufficient to shop at regular stores. The journalists also met a security guard who said Qatar does not care about human rights. He had only had three days off in the last nine months and said that the working conditions in Qatar are modern slavery.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ SVT Play. *Qatar - landet som köpte Fotbolls-VM* (TV-Program). 2022.

<https://www.svtplay.se/video/KRo2Jkw/dokument-utifran-qatar-landet-som-kopte-fotbolls-vm>

(accessed 2023-02-20)

3 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)

3.1 The Executive Committee

A specific committee within FIFA, the FIFA Council, decides who gets to host the World Cup. It was chosen in 1964 that instead of all the national football associations voting, it would be better to have a committee doing it. It was believed that this would ensure a more responsible and objective decision.⁷⁶ In 2010, when Qatar was elected, the Council was called the Executive Committee, consisting of twenty-four members. The members, composed of only men, vote anonymously for the country they deem should host the tournament for a specific year. However, before the voting begins, there are months of preparations, where each candidate has campaigns promoting them as the host country. The campaigns often consisted of luxury travels with expansive hotels and exclusive dinners for the committee members, anything to get each member to vote for their country. The members could also receive expensive jewelry, handbags, and paintings. In addition, the campaigns end with each candidate giving a presentation to the Committee.⁷⁷

In the 2010 election, two executive committee members were accused of demanding bribes in exchange for their votes just days before the election. They were, therefore, excluded from the voting, and the 2010 election only consisted of twenty-two votes, and twelve votes were enough to win.⁷⁸

In the summer before the election, FIFA sent out a delegation of six inspectors to investigate all host candidates and then write a report about each country. Only one country got severe criticism from the inspectors – Qatar. They, for instance, pointed to the lack of arenas and the problem with the heat in the summer, which would be a danger to both players and supporters.⁷⁹ Despite that, on 2 December 2010, Qatar was elected host country for the World Cup 2022.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ David Conn. *The Fall of the House of FIFA*. New York: Bold Type Books. 2017. p. 73

⁷⁷ Lundh. *Templet i öknen: så köpte Qatar världens största sport*. p. 24

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 25

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 29

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 20

Qatar celebrated their win, and FIFA deemed they had broken new ground by selecting the first World Cup in the Middle East.⁸¹

FIFA, who had already been criticized for a while, faced severe consequences after Qatar was elected. Journalists started examining and writing about FIFA more frequently, and the FBI began an investigation against the Executive Committee for bribery. This led to the arrests of several of the members of the Committee in May 2015. Of the twenty-two members from the 2010 election, few made it through unscathed. They have either been convicted, shut off from all football by organized FIFA or are hiding not to be extradited to the United States. So, when the World Cup was held in Qatar in 2022, only one of the members of the 2010 Executive Committee remained.⁸² Today, the Executive Committee is called the FIFA Council. It consists of thirty-seven members, and they are elected by all the national football associations for a mandate of four years. The president and all members of the Council cannot serve longer than three terms (twelve years).⁸³

In the documentary *FIFA Uncovered* from 2022, a former advisor to the FIFA president explained that if you are to blame Qatar for hosting the World Cup, you have to blame FIFA as well.⁸⁴ This is because FIFA owns the World Cup and is the ultimate decision-making authority for the tournament. It manages the tournament stakeholders, sets the technical requirements, and coordinates the delivery of the competition. In addition, FIFA is also one of the primary financial beneficiaries of the World Cup. In May 2022, it was expected that FIFA would earn over US\$ 6 billion in revenues from the World Cup in 2022.⁸⁵

3.2 FIFA and Human Rights

On its website, FIFA writes that through its projects and tournaments, it generates jobs and investments in infrastructure. FIFA also promotes the values of equality and fairness, as well

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 32

⁸² Ibid. p. 36-37

⁸³ FIFA. Organisation FIFA Council. *FIFA*. 2023. <https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/organisation/fifa-council> (accessed 2023-04-28)

⁸⁴ Netflix. *FIFA Uncovered*. (TV-Program). 2022. <https://www.netflix.com/title/80221113> (accessed 2023-03-06)

⁸⁵ Amnesty International. *Predictable and Preventable: Why FIFA and Qatar should remedy abuses behind the 2022 World Cup*. p. 14

as strengthens social relations between both people and countries. In 2016, FIFA announced a strategic program that shall work to ensure respect for human rights on FIFA's projects. One part of the program is integrating human rights requirements into the voting process of FIFA tournaments.⁸⁶

FIFA is, by the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPR), committed to respecting human rights. Their commitment covers all internationally recognized human rights, including, for instance, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Labour Organization's Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. If FIFA might negatively impact the human rights of a specific group that might require special attention, other international standards and principles will also be considered. An example of such a group is migrant workers and their families.⁸⁷

Since FIFA's projects often occur with partners, FIFA argues that their involvement with negative impacts on human rights is most likely to occur through these collaborations. One salient human rights risk in these collaborations is labor rights. FIFA's projects often demand a massive workforce, for instance, to construct stadiums and infrastructure. However, FIFA never procures the workforce but rather the project's partners. Although FIFA does not have the primary responsibility for workers, FIFA has expressed that it strives to promote and fulfill the highest international labor standards.⁸⁸

FIFA also points out that in cases where national laws and regulations differ or are in conflict with international human rights standards, FIFA will follow international standards without intruding upon national laws. Suppose the national laws and regulations risk undermining FIFA's ability to ensure respect for human rights. In that case, it will engage with national authorities and other stakeholders in the project to fulfill its responsibilities towards human rights.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ FIFA. SOCIAL IMPACT: Human Rights & Anti-Discrimination. *FIFA*.

<https://www.fifa.com/social-impact/human-rights> (accessed 2023-04-28)

⁸⁷ FIFA. *FIFA's Human Rights Policy*. Zurich: 2017. p. 5

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 6

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 7

Amnesty International was critical of FIFA's actions, or lack of, to protect migrant workers' rights. So therefore, did the Head of Human Rights & Anti-Discrimination at FIFA, Andreas Graf, respond to Amnesty International in April 2022. In the response, Graf stated that FIFA considered human rights-related matters in the World Cup 2022 planning from the beginning. For instance, the Executive Committee aimed to use the tournament as a tool to contribute to social change in Qatar. Moreover, Graf points out that FIFA's role in constructing the World Cup infrastructure has continuously collaborated with the Supreme Committee. In addition, FIFA has also supported the Supreme Committee in its efforts and raised concerns about issues brought up by external monitoring bodies, NGOs, and unions.

Further, Graf argues that the World Cup has caused ground-breaking labor law reforms in Qatar—for example, abolishing the kafala system and introducing a non-discriminatory minimum wage.⁹⁰ However, FIFA also recognizes that holding companies responsible for labor rights abuses has not been without challenges, and more needs to be done. Despite that, FIFA is still pleased with the progress made for World Cup workers and all other workers in Qatar.⁹¹

Regarding the criticism about remediation for migrant workers, FIFA responded that countless workers had received financial remediation through the Workers' Welfare initiatives. These remediations include, for instance, the repayment of recruitment fees and payment of unpaid wages. In December 2021, workers on World Cup sites and other workers received total revenues of US\$22.6 million.⁹² However, FIFA did not "share" their money and instead failed to commit to compensating migrant workers – those who made the World Cup possible. FIFA also has a Legacy Fund, which FIFA usually sets up after the World Cup. Still, no indicators say that the resources within the fund will be used to compensate migrant workers and their families.⁹³ Instead, it will be used more globally, focusing on education projects and supporting

⁹⁰ Amnesty International. *Predictable and Preventable: Why FIFA and Qatar should remedy abuses behind the 2022 World Cup*. p. 53-54

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 56

⁹² Ibid. p. 58

⁹³ Minky Worden. FIFA's 'Best World Cup Ever' Came at Migrant Workers' Loss. *Human Rights Watch*. 2022. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/12/16/fifas-best-world-cup-ever-came-migrant-workers-loss> (accessed 2023-05-02)

the creation of a labor excellence hub for future projects. FIFA claimed that given Qatar's capabilities, they do not need the Legacy Fund after the World Cup.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ FIFA. FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022™ Legacy Fund to benefit people most in need. *FIFA*. 2022. <https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/fifa-world-cup-qatar-2022-tm-legacy-fund-to-benefit-people-most-in-need> (accessed 2023-05-08)

4 Al Bayt Stadium

An example of abuses against migrant workers on World Cup-related projects is the building of Al Bayt Stadium. A stadium that would host the opening ceremony and have the capacity to welcome over 60,000 spectators.⁹⁵ Qatar Meta Coats was one of the construction companies contracted to build the massive arena. In June 2020, Amnesty International exposed that around a hundred workers of Qatar Meta Coats had been denied their salaries for up to seven months. Neither had the company renewed workers' residence permits, which led to them risking detention and deportation. In addition, several workers had paid up to US\$2,000 in recruitment fees back home, which Qatar Meta Coats refused to compensate, and were owed between US\$2,200 and over US\$16,500 in salaries and allowances. Amnesty International deems that this shows how powerless migrant workers are in Qatar despite new reforms and promises of protection.

After Amnesty International had revealed this problem to Qatari authorities, the Supreme Committee, and FIFA, workers started to receive part of what they were owed. Although most workers were paid most of their salaries, some were still left without several months of the wages they were owed. It is also alarming that this exploitation occurred under the Supreme Committee and Qatari authorities' watch. They even admitted they had heard about the issue as early as July 2019. So, while the Workers' Welfare Standards are supposed to make it possible for the Supreme Committee to discover the problem at Qatar Meta Coats, they were still unable to ensure timely and full payment for migrant workers.

FIFA said they had not heard about the problem until Amnesty International informed the Supreme Committee in May 2020. FIFA noted that they had not been routinely notified about issues. Instead, they trusted that the Supreme Committee and their system would protect workers' rights on World Cup projects. Amnesty International argues that FIFA's unawareness and lack of own check-ups show that FIFA fails to take responsibility for its projects and to take human rights abuses seriously.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Linn Nordström. Hyllar monstertältet: "Arenan är överklig". *Aftonbladet*. 2022-11-28.

<https://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/a/0QBooJ/har-ar-fotbolls-vm-s-bade-maktigaste-och-markligaste-arena> (accessed 2023-04-05)

⁹⁶ Amnesty International. *Reality check 2020: Countdown to the 2022 World Cup*. p. 28-29.

Amnesty International sought a response from the Qatar government about the issue and got a response from Qatar's Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour, and Social. Although most of their answers were short, they said they had received reports about the problem with Qatar Meta Coats in 2019. Regarding what actions have been or will be taken to ensure workers receive the salaries they were owed, the Ministry only answered that Qatar Meta Coats had pledged to pay workers back in the first week of June 2020. They also pointed out that the company was banned in October 2019. Lastly, Amnesty International asked which new actions have been implemented to ensure that this kind of labor abuse will not be repeated since migrant workers' rights continue being violated despite recent reforms. The Ministry said it wants to prevent any abuses against workers and that all legal actions are taken against companies violating workers. It argued that there are few violations, and if there is one, it is addressed and dealt with as soon as possible. The Ministry also highlighted that the existing violations follow the rates found in most countries.⁹⁷

Qatar Meta Coats also answered Amnesty International's findings. They started by saying that they take the rights and welfare of their workers very seriously and that the problem of the construction of Al Bayt Stadium is in the process of being solved. The company admits they were experiencing some difficult times, which led to difficulties in giving workers their wages on time. What exactly their problems are is not explained in their response. However, Qatar Meta Coats points out that they, for instance, have suffered severe financial losses due to workers mishandling and damaging material on site. Despite that, workers were never held responsible for it financially, nor were they suspended. Further, they argue that all complaints have been dealt with in a mutually understanding way. Qatar Meta Coats end their response by reassuring that they are acquiring the funds to pay off all the salaries.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Amnesty International. Qatar: Government response to Amnesty International allegations of labour abuse on Al Bayt Stadium. *Amnesty International*. 2020.

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/2504/2020/en/> (accessed 2023-02-20)

⁹⁸ Amnesty International. Qatar: Company responses to Amnesty International allegations of labour abuse on Al Bayt Stadium. *Amnesty International*. 2020.

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/2500/2020/en/> (accessed 2023-02-20)

5 Analysis

5.1 The Effect on Migrant Workers

Despite Qatar having a long history of human rights violations against migrant workers, it is clear that the preparation and delivery of the World Cup have affected the situation. The conflict between the Qatari government and migrant workers was founded on laws that discriminated against and exploited migrant workers. While many hope that the World Cup would shed light on the problem and help strengthen migrant workers' position in the conflict, the preparation for the tournament still contributed to more violations. NGOs and media all over the world have scrutinized Qatar and put the spotlight on migrant workers' conditions since the election in 2010. Still, few workers have dared to speak up against Qatar or companies and employers, and those who have said something have done it during very protected circumstances. So, in that sense, when FIFA elected Qatar as host, it put migrant workers in a more vulnerable position instead of shedding light on the violations and giving migrant workers a chance to speak up for their rights.

In the view of the Marxist perspective on conflict theory, Qatar and its companies can be seen as a powerful elite, explaining why a revolt by the migrant workers alone is impossible. Despite efforts to fight for their rights, for example, by changing employers or reporting violations, the response has been faint. The lack of action from the Supreme Committee on the problem at the Al Bayt Stadium strengthens the argument from the Marxist perspective on conflict theory; *“By protecting their resources, the rich will try to maximize their power and wealth by suppressing the poor and powerless.”* The Qatari government and companies continue to put themselves above the needs of others to maintain their power. Since Qatar has received economic benefits and social pride by hosting the World Cup, it further strengthens this argument. So, despite new reforms and abolishing old laws, the improvement did not happen fast enough or has not been implemented or monitored sufficiently.

However, some might argue that even if they came to light or lacked monitoring and implantation, Qatar's new reforms and changes are a step in the right direction and a positive consequence of the World Cup. The pressure from outside actors has forced Qatar to take action and, in turn, contributed to better conditions for migrant workers. The World Cup has also produced more jobs, which is essential for many people. The alternative would be to boycott the tournament to prevent Qatar from profiting from the World Cup at the expense of migrant

workers' wellbeing. But as Sigmund Loland argued, a boycott would negatively affect the workers more than Qatar or FIFA. The workers probably lose their only opportunity to earn money, while Qatar still has more money than most countries, and FIFA will profit regardless of who hosts the World Cup. So, in the end, the elite, whether Qatar or FIFA, remains powerful and wealthy, while the migrant workers stay poor and defenseless against violations and exploitation. This dilemma leads us to the concept of modern slavery and forced labor. While it is evident through international laws that migrant workers' conditions in Qatar are classified as forced labor, it again points to the apparent imbalance between Qatar and migrant workers. The workers do not have a choice. They need the money and have nothing protecting them against the violations, which makes them the perfect subject for Qatar to exploit and use to benefit them. Qatar focuses on the job opportunities it provides. The wage and treatments below all standards are rather not discussed.

5.2 Who is Responsible?

While some NGOs and media might say that the Qatari government is solely responsible for ensuring migrant workers' rights in Qatar since they have acknowledged their responsibility and taken measures to prevent further abuses and exploitation, the focus now lies on FIFA. Whether FIFA wants to admit it or not, it is responsible for protecting human rights on its projects, according to the UNGP. FIFA is also morally obligated to fulfill human rights since its projects significantly influence welfare. By creating the World Cup, FIFA has contributed to the welfare by, for example, creating job opportunities and economic benefits for countries. However, this contribution should also come with responsibilities. Sure, labor abuses in Qatar existed long before the World Cup. But there have also been labor abuses that happened directly because of the World Cup. For example, deaths and unpaid wages on construction sites building arenas. These are consequences of the World Cup; it is consequences of FIFA's actions. Because if FIFA had not elected Qatar in 2010, the violation related to the World Cup would not have happened to the migrant workers in Qatar. Still, FIFA does not take responsibility for its actions. Instead, they say that Qatar needs to improve its legislation and monitoring. It is evident during the preparations for the World Cup when they say they did not know about some abuses because the Supreme Committee did not inform FIFA about them. One might think that as the owner of the World Cup, it would be in FIFA's interest to do its own regular check-ups or ask the Supreme Committee if it has not received any information regularly; instead, FIFA did nothing.

From the perspective of the CSR theory and its four obligations, Qatar has fulfilled the first and second obligations, at least on paper. On the other hand, FIFA has earned money but neglected fulfilling obligation two, legal responsibilities, arguing it does not want to interfere with national legislation and traditions. Companies such as Qatar Meta Coast barely meet any CSR obligations. But since they have been banned from working on World Cup sites and are a small part of the tournament, they hardly influence the legislation and the World Cup. Therefore, it is hard to accuse them and similar companies of having prime responsibility to protect and ensure human rights during the World Cup. FIFA and Qatar, on the other hand, succeeded in profiting from the World Cup. Since Qatar has changed its laws and increased the inspections on migrant workers' conditions, it can be argued that they have fulfilled its legal and economic obligations. Now, it is more the monitoring and implementation in practice that is lacking, but Qatar fulfills its obligations concerning international human rights law on paper. It is harder to determine if FIFA has fulfilled its legal obligations. Instead, FIFA focuses on what they and the World Cup contribute and blames violations and negative effects on their partners and the host country. Their argument that they do not want to interfere with national legislation makes forcing change from FIFA through laws difficult.

FIFA and Qatar do not fulfill the CSR theory's third and fourth obligations. Neither of them do more than what is necessary. It is clear that FIFA only does what they have to when it does not "share" its massive profit or help migrant workers with its legacy fund. As Seamus Byrne and Jan Andre Lee Ludvigsen pointed out in their article, the history of sports governing bodies is turning away from responsibilities. With the World Cup 2022, it seems it is still the case with FIFA. Qatar only does the bare minimum and constantly points to its new reforms. However, they fail to implement the new laws in practice fully. This points to a lack of respect and willingness to protect and fulfill migrant workers' human rights, and it is likely because of the lack of benefits it gives them as businesses and elites.

6 Conclusions

Migrant workers' human rights have been abused in preparing and delivering the World Cup 2022. Their freedom has been limited with exit permits, the prohibition to change jobs without the employer's permission, and the confiscation of passports. Evidence also shows that they have not been paid enough or paid at all and are working twelve-hour shifts without days of rest. In addition, many workers have died due to the harsh conditions they are exposed to, for example, the heat on outside construction sites. All this suggests that migrant workers in Qatar, indeed, are exposed to forced labor and modern slavery. In 2011, Sevil Sönmez, Yorghos Apostopoulos, Diane Tran, and Shantiana Rentropé pointed out that human rights violations against migrant workers were a significant part of the norm in Qatar, and despite legal reforms and attempts at improvements that still seem to be the case in 2022.

However, Qatar has improved, such as abolishing exit permits and permission to change jobs. Minimum Wage, Workers' Welfare Standards, and extended period prohibitions against working outside in the heat are all examples of Qatar's efforts and improvements. Qatar has taken measures to protect and improve migrant workers' rights and freedom and is working on fulfilling international standards for labor rights. If it is enough or it will last long after the World Cup, time will tell.

Andrew Adams and Mark Piekarz argued that international sports events could positively affect human rights since they direct the world's focus on one country, expose abuses and human rights violations, and allow oppressed people to speak up. Their arguments and findings can be applied to the World Cup 2022. Qatar has made several reforms after pressure from the rest of the world, and NGOs have spent a tremendous amount of time interviewing migrant workers, helping them to speak up about the abuses. So, in that sense, the World Cup has promoted and improved the respect for human rights in Qatar.

However, the responsibility does not merely lie on Qatar. As mentioned by Dhiraj Abraham Philip, human rights violations occurred in previous World Cups and international sports events. That shows that it does not matter which country hosts the tournament. Instead, the focus should be on FIFA, the common factor for all World Cups. It is they who allow human rights violations on their projects. After investigating the issues, it is clear that FIFA is primarily responsible for protecting human rights in preparing and delivering the World Cup 2022. Even though Qatar and its companies have their obligations and responsibilities, FIFA should make

higher demands on the other actors. If the host country violates human rights during the World Cup preparation and delivery, FIFA should not allow them to host. This is because FIFA owns the tournament, receives the most financial benefits, and is obligated to protect human rights under the UNGP. FIFA is the World Cup, and it should be in its moral and ethical interest to ensure that human rights are fulfilled in all aspects of the delivery of the World Cup, even if it does not profit from it.

The connection between the World Cup and human rights violations is complex, with many factors affecting the outcome. The host country, FIFA, and companies all have responsibilities and take part in delivering a massive sports event. However, it will not be enough even if the host country creates new reforms and companies change policies. FIFA needs to change to achieve a positive and long-lasting effect on human rights in football. Because if FIFA does not take full responsibility for its actions and projects, there will never be a World Cup free from human rights violations, no matter who hosts or builds it.

6.1 Further Research

Further research could focus on FIFA and how it decides to continue working with human rights. For example, investigate if future World Cups have other rules or arrangements. It would also be interesting to see if the discussion around host elections will be different in the future. The next election is in 2024 when China is one of the candidates – a country that has received massive criticism for its lack of respect for human rights. Will FIFA make demands to fulfill human rights? Will FIFA take responsibility for protecting and ensuring human rights in football?

Another further research that can be done is to investigate what happens in Qatar. Examine what will happen to migrant workers and if there will be any changes in Qatar's laws and actions now that they do not have the whole world's attention on them. It would be interesting to see if there will be more reports about migrant workers in Qatar and what UN committees will say about the situation in the future. If Qatar ratifies the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families in the future, it would be interesting to examine how the Qatari government works to implement this convention. In a few years, it will also be possible to analyze if the World Cup highlighted and reduced the abuse and exploitation of migrant workers or if football is a tool for people with the power to keep violating human rights.

One more research that can be conducted in this field is comparative research on various World Cup hosts. It would be interesting to analyze the differences and similarities between host countries and how human rights violations have unfolded during each tournament.

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